Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 06806 01 OF 05 102029Z
44-71
ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-09 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 NEA-10 AF-08 PA-02 IO-13
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 EB-07 /096 W
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O P 101832Z DEC 76
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 785
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 6634
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 5 USNATO 6806

LONDON FOR FUNSETH; DEPARTMENT FOR S/PRS PASS NSC FOR MR.
SCOWCROFT AND WHITE HOUSE FOR NESSEN; USIA FOR IPS/PE;
DEPARTMENT: PLEASE PASS TO OTHER INFO ADDRESSEES AS APPROPRIATE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, OCON, OVIP
SUBJ: SECRETARY KISSINTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING NATO
MINISTERIAL MEETING, DECEMBER 10, 1976

FOLLOWING IS THE VERBATIM TRANSCRIPT OF SECRETARY OF STATE
HENRY A. KISSINGER'S PRESS CONFERENCE AT NATO HEADQUARTERS
IN BRUSSELS, FIRIDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1976, CONCLUDING THE 58TH
MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL.
BEGIN TEXT:

THE SECRETARY: I'LL GO RIGHT TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DON'T YOU THINK THAT THE PURCHASE
BY THE LIBYAN GOVERNMENT OF 15 PERCENT OF THE MAJOR
ITALIAN INDUSTRY, FIAT, COULD INFLUENCE IN SOME WAYS
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ITALY WHICH IS STILL A NATO
COUNTRY?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: IN THE WANING DAYS OF MY PUBLIC
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PAGE 02 NATO 06806 01 OF 05 102029Z

CAREER I DARE NOT TAKE ON BOTH THE ITALIAN AND LIBYAN
PUBLIC OPINION.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DURING THE COURSE OF THE TALKS, DID THE SITUATION IN SOUTHER AFRICA COME UP AND IF SO WERE ANY PROPOSALS MADE FOR FURTHER ACTION BY YOU OR THE UNITED STATES?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA CAME UP IN THE SENSE THAT I GAVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE SITUATION AS I SAW IT AND MR. CROSSLAND MADE AN ENGLISH INTERPRETATION OF MY REMARKS. WE SUBSTANTIALLY AGREED IN OUR ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION. AS YOU KNOW I AM GOING TO MEET MR. CROSSLAND AND HIS ASSOCIATES THIS AFTERNOON IN LONDON AND AGAIN TOMORROW. NO RECOMMENDA-TIONS WERE MADE BY NATO WITH RESPECT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT THERE WAS A DISCUSSIONOF THE SITUATION AS WE SAW IT.

Q. IN WHICH AREAS DID YOU AND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY NOT AGREE IN YOU ANALYSIS ON RHODESIA?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I WOULD SAY THAT THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND I AGREE COMPLETELY IN OUR ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN RHODESIA. WE GREATLY APPRECIATE THE ROLE THAT BRITAIN IS PLAYING UNDER GREAT DIFFICULTIES AT GENEVA. IT IS A COMPLICATED NEGOTIATION WHICH PROCEEDS THROUGH A SERIES OF CRISES AND DRAMATIC HEADLINES BUT IN WHICH WE BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS REMAINS POSSIBLE. THE UNITED STATES, AS GREAT BRITAIN, SUPPORTS MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND SUPPORTS A TRANSITION GOVERNMENT IN WHICH THE AFRICAN COMPONENT IS IN THE MAJORITY. NOW HOW TO WORK OUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS TO EACH OTHER IS THE SUBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT WHATEVER BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU CAN STILL PLAY ANY ROLE AT ALL IN HELPING BREAK THEDEADLOCK BY MEETING MR. NKOMO IN LONDON OR ANY OF THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I HAVE NO PLAN TO MEET MR. NKOMO...
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I WILL NOT MEET MR. NKOMO BECAUSE I KNOW THAT SOME OF THE EXEGTISTS HERE WILL MISINTERPRET THE WORD THAT I HAVE NO PLANS. I BELIEVE THT WE CAN CONTINUE TO PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN REMAINING IN CONTACT BOTH WITH THE PARTIES IN GENEVA AND WITH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, WHO HAVE SUCH ANIMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITY. WE ARE INDEED IN FREQUENT CONTACT WITH ALL OF THESE PARTIES AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE OUR INFLUENCE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF THE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY UNDER CONDITIONS IN WHICH MINORITY RIGHTS ARE PROTECTED.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Q. MR. SECRETARY, HOW DO YOU THINK YOUR POLICY REGARDING
THE MIDDLE WAST, OR LET US SAY AMERICAN POLICY
REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST, WILL CONTINUE AFTER YOU, AND WITH THE
NEW ADMINISTRATION. CAN YOU GIVE US A GENERAL ASSESSMENT
ABOUT THE SITUATION AS YOU SEE IT?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL, I'M SURE YOU KNOW THATI AM
NOT THE SPOKESMAN THAT HAS BEEN CHOSEN FOR THE NEW
ADMINISTRATION, SO I WOULD NOT WANT TO MADE PRONOUNCEMENTS
ABOUT THEIR POLICIES. MR. VANCE IS AN OLD FRIEND OF MINE.
I BELIEVE THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES
CAN NEVER BE BASED ON THE PERSONAL PREFERENCES OF INDIVI-
DUALS AND TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE WE ATTEMPTED TO ANALYZE
THE BASIC REALITIES AND THE BASIC INTERESTS AND PURPOSES
OF THE UNITED STATES. IN THAT SENSE IF OUR CONCLUSIONS
WERE SUBSTANTIALLY CORRECT, I WOULD BELIEVE THAT A NEW
ADMINISTRATION WOULD FOLLOW A SIMILAR COURSE. THERE MIGHT
BE DIFFERENCES IN TACTICS, DIFFERENCES IN PERSONALITIES.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 NATO 06806 02 OF 05 102052Z
71
ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-09 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 NEA-10 AF-08 PA-02 IO-13
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 EB-07 /096 W
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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 786
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 6635
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 5 USNATO 6806

I BELIEVE THE MAIN COMMITMENT TOWARDS A JUST PEACE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IS DICTATED BY AMERICAN INTEREST AND
BY WORLD INTERESTS AND FINALLY BY THE BEST INTERESTS OF
THE PARTIES CONCERNED AND I AM CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED
STATES WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE SEARCH
FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Q. WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT?

SECRETARY KKSSINGER: MY ASSESSMENT, WHICH I HAVE BEEN
MAKING FOR MONTHS, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER OUR ELECTION IS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

THAT THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS THAT MAKE FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BETTER THAN THEY HAVE BEEN IN PERHAPS DECADES. I BELIEVE THAT ALL OF THE PARTIES HAVE COME TO A REALIZATION THAT THERE IS NO MILITARY SOLUTION TO THEIR CONFLICT AND THAT SOME NEGOTIATED PEACE MUST BE SOUGHT. AN ENDLESS CONFLICT WILL HAVE PROFOUND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PEOPLES INVOLVED AND PROFOUND GLOBAL CONSEQUENCES AND, THEREFORE, I BELIEVE THAT THE PARTIES ARE NOW MORE READY AND THE CONDITIONS ARE NOW MORE RIPE FOR A SIGNIFICANT EFFORT TOWARDS PEACE THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE IN A LONG TIME.

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Q. MR. SECRETARY, SHOULD THE PLO BE REPRESENTED AT THOSE NEGOTIATIONS?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THE UNITED STATES HAS STATED REPEATEDLY ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PLO WHICH IS THAT UNTIL THE PLO ACCEPTS THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND THE RESOLUTIONS ON WHICH THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS ARE BEING CONDUCTED--THAT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT ADDRESS THIS SORT OF A QUESTION.

Q. IS THERE ANY PROSPECT OF THAT ACCEPTANCE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THAT IS FOR THE PLO TO ANSWER.

Q. BUT I TAKE IT THAT YOU SAY UNLESS THEY DO THEY WILL NOT BE AT GENEVA, SO FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: UNTIL JANUARY 20TH, ANYWAY. (LAUGHTER)

Q. THAT'S ALL I COULD ASK.

Q. (IN FRENCH) DO YOU AGREE WITH THE IDEA THAT YOUR PERIOD OF SERVICE FOR THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS SERVED TO REINFORCE THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND AT THE SAME TIME TO DESTROY (SIC) EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNITY?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I BELIEVE THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HAS BEEN GREATLY STRENGTHENED IN RECENT YEARS. I BELIEVE THAT THE SYSTEM OF CONSULTATION THAT NOW EXISTS WITHIN NATO AND BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF NATO, EVEN OUTSIDE THE NATO FRAMEWORK, IS INITIMATE AND SUBSTANTIAL AND IT REFELCTS THE REALIZATION BY ALL OF THE COUNTRIES THAT WE ARE UNITED NOT ONLY FOR SECURITY BUT AS THE REPOSITORIES OF FREEDOM IN THE WORLD TODAY. AND I BELIEVE THAT NATO IN ITS POLITICAL ASPECT IS STRONGER THAN IT HAS BEEN AND THAT THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAS BEEN GREATLY

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

ENHANCED.

Q. AND EUROPE?

UNCLASSIFIED
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PAGE 03 NATO 06806 02 OF 05 102052Z

SECRETARY KISSINGER: AND THE UNITY OF EUROPE? THE UNITED STATES IS STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF THE UNITY OF EUROPE. I BELIEVE ALSO THAT IN THE LAST EIGHT YEARS SIGNIFICANT CONCRETE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE TOWARDS THE UNITY OF EUROPE IN BOTH ITS ECONOMIC AND, EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, IN ITS POLITICAL ASPECTS AND I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THIS WILL CONTINUE.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, LOOKING BACK WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE YOUR MOST SATISFYING ACHIEVEMENTS AND YOUR GREATEST DISAPPOINTMENTS?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL, I HAVE TOLD THE NAT COUNCIL THATITS TOO EARLY TO WRITE OBITUARIES, AND HAVING SUCH A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF PEOPLE HERE THAT HAVE BEEN ANALYZING MY DRAWBACKS AND ACHIEVEMENTS, WITH EMPHASIS ON THE FORMER, I WOULD NOT WANT TO INTERFERE WITH YOUR WORK (LAUGHTER).

Q. MR. SECRETARY, COULD I PURSUE THIS QUESTION ALONG THESE LINES?YOU HAVE BEEN ASKED MANY TIMES SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN HERE FOR YOU TO VOLUNTEER SOME OF YOUR THOUGHTS AND YOU HAVE HANDLED THIS USUALLY WITH HUMOR AND WITH A JOCULAR ASIDE. I WONDER, SIR, IF AT THIS TIME IN YOUR FAREWELL NEWS CONFERENCE HERE IN EUROPE, WHETHER YOU WOULD TAKE A MOMENT AND SHARE WITH US SOME OF YOUR THOUGHTS AT THE PRESENT TIME, AS YOU PREPARE TO STEP DOWN.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I EXPRESSED SOME OF THESE THOUGHTS, IN ANSWER TO THE PREVIOUS QUESTION. I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT THE ULTIMATE TEST OF WHATEVER AN AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE OR PRESIDENT DOES WITH RESPECT TO ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD WILL BE THE DEGREE TO WHICH IT CONTRIBUTES TO THE UNITY AND VITALITY AND STRENGTH OF THE FREE PEOPLES, ESPECIALLY THE PEOPLES OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA. SECURITY BY ITSELF IS NOT ENOUGH. WE HAVE TO ASK SECURITY FOR WHAT AND FOR WHAT PURPOSE? WE THEREFORE OWE IT TO OUR PEOPLES, AS WE SEEK SECURITY, TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE ARE ALSO SEEKING PEACE; AND WE ALSO OWE IT TO OUR PEOPLES THAT, AS WE DEVELOP OUR COHENSION, WE DEFINE THE PURPOSE THAT THIS COHESION IS TOSERVE IN
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PAGE 04 NATO 06806 02 OF 05 102052Z

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

TERMS OF A BETTER WORLD. THIS I CONSIDER THE PERMANENT TASK OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, AND HISTORY WIL HAVE TO JUDGE HOW ANY ONE ADMINISTRATION CARRIED IT OUT. BUT I AM POSITIVE THAT ANY NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL ADDRESS ITSELF TO THE SAME AGENDA.

Q. (IN FRENCH) MR. SECRETARY, UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS DO YOU THINK THAT ONE DAY WE CAN CONTROL THE CURRENT ARMAMENTS RACE AND ENTER INTO A REAL ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I BELIEVE THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS HAVE THE CHARACTERISTIC THAT WILL MAKE THE TRADITIONAL REFLEC-TIONS ABOUT MILITARY POWER SUBSTANTIALLY IRRELEVANT AND

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 NATO 06806 03 OF 05 102102Z
71
ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-09 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 NEA-10 AF-08 PA-02 IO-13
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 EB-07 /096 W
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FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 787
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 6636
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 5 USNATO 6806

THAT THEY IMPOSE ON ALL STATESMEN AN OBLIGATION TO BRING THE ARMAMENTS RACE UNDER CONTROL. WE HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN THE CONTROL OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS AND I BELIEVE THAT A FURTHER AGREEMENT ON THE LIMITATIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMS IS WITHIN REACH. THERE ARE OTHER DISCUSSIONS GOING ON ON THE LIMITATION OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WE HAVE THE OBLIGATION TO CONDUCT OUR POLICY BETWEEN TWO EXTREMES. ON THE ONE HAND, NOT TO DISARM OURSELVES EITHER BY UNILATERAL ACTIONS OR BY THEORIES THAT PRODUCE A PARALYSIS OF WILL, BUT ON THE OTHER HAND NOT TO BELIEVE THAT THE MERE ACCUMULATION OF ARMAMENTS IS IN ITSELF A POLICY. THEREFORE THERE IS A NECESSITY TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS ON THE LIMITATIONS OF ARMS SOBERLY, REALISTICALLY, BUT WITH GREAT DEDICATION.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Q. MR. SECRETARY, WHAT ROLE DO YOU ANTICIPATE PLAYING IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IN FORMULATING FOREIGN POLICY?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I DON'T ANTICIPATE PLAYING ANY ROLE IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION IN FORMULATING FOREIGN POLICY. ON JANUARY 21ST I WILL ACHIEVE INFALLIBILITY (LAUGHTER) AND WILL JOIN ALL OF YOU IN MY CAPACITY TO ANALYZE PROBLEMS. I AM ALWAYS PREPARED TO ASSIST IN SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND TO OFFER ADVICE IN SPECIFIC
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CIRCUMSTANCES BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IS A NONPARTISAN ENTERPRISE, BUT I DO NOT ANTICIPATE PLAYING A ROLE IN THE FORMULATION OF THE POLICY OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, UNDER WHICH CONDITIONS CAN YOU FORSEE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION OF CHINA TO THE WORLDBALANCE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL, CHINA IS A GREAT COUNTRY AND A MAJOR POWER AND BY ITS EXISTENCE, ITS STRONG DEDICATION TO ITS INDEPENDENCE AND THE TALENT OF ITS PEOPLE AND LEADERSHIP, IT WILL ALWAYS MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD BALANCE. WHATEVER CONTRIBUTION CHINA MAKES WILL DERIVE FROM ITS OWN INHERENT CONVICTIONS, AND NOT THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF AMERICANS; AND OUR COOPERATION WITH CHINA DERIVES FROMA PARALLELISM OFINTEREST AND NOT ANY FORMAL ARRANGEMENT.

Q. ON RHODESIA, MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU CONSIDER THE PROPOSALS THAT YOU PUT TO MR. IAN SMITH ARE STILL JUST A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS OR AS HE INSISTS A PROGRAM TO BE ACCEPTED OR REJECTED AS A PACKAGE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT THEY SHOULD SERVE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT ALL PARTIES IN GENEVA HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE VIEWS OF THE OTHERS. THIS IS TRUE OF IAN SMITH, IT IS ALSO TRUE IN MY JUDGMENT OF THE BLACK NEGOTIATORS IN GENEVA.

Q. THERE HAS APPARENTLY BEEN A LEAK FROM YOU TO THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS AT THE CIEC TALKS IN PARIS. COULD YOU GIVE US YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE POSSIBLE DAMAGE THAT THIS LEAK MIGHT INCUR?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL, I TELL YOU THE TRUTH, I READ AN EXTRACT OF THAT CABLE IN A NEWSPAPER THIS MORNING AND IT HAD THE SORT OF BUREAUCRATIC OBTUSESNESS WHICH WOULD MAKE IT SOUND AS PLAUSIBLY HAVING BEEN DEVELOPED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE (LAUGHTER). I HAVE BEEN LOOKING FOR

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

THE CABLE EVER SINCE, SO I CANNOT VOUCH FOR ITS ACCURACY.
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IN THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR CAPACITY TO GUARD CLASSIFIED INFORMATION IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE THAT DOCUMENTS APPEAR OUT OF CONTEXT. I WOULD NOT THINK THAT THIS PARTICULAR DOCUMENT SHOULD DO ANY SIGNIFICANT DAMAGE. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES -- INDEED IT WAS ONE OF THE ORGANIZAERS OF THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE --WE BELIEVE THAT AN INTER-NATIONAL ORDER CAN ONLY BE BUILT ON THE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE DEVELOPED NATIONS HAVE A SPECIAL OBLIGA-TION TO PUT FORWARD CONSTRUCTIVE, CONCRETE PROPOSALS AND THAT THE DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PROCEED IN A SPIRIT OF DISCUSSION RATHER THAN A SPIRIT OF CONFRONTA-TION. IT IS TRUE THAT WE DID NOT THINK THAT THIS WAS THE BEST MOMENT FOR THE CONFERENCE. AN OUTGOING ADMINISTRA-TION WOULD BE IN THE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT POSITION OF HAVING TO PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE IMPLEMENTED BY ANOTHER ADMINISTRATION AND, THEREFORE, IT DID NOT SEEM TO US TO BE THE RIGHT MOMENT TO HAVE A CONFERENCE BECAUSE EITHER WE WOULD CONFINE OURSELVES TO THE PEIOR FOR WHICH WE HAD RESPONSIBILITY AND WOULD THEREFORE DISAPPOINT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, OR WE WOULD COMMIT A NEW ADMINISTRA-TION TO A PROGRAM WHICH IT HAD NO PART IN SHAPING. THERE WERE OTHER REASONS THAT OTHER COUNTRIES HAD FOR THE POST-PONEMENT, BUT AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, THIS WAS THE REASON WHY WE FAVORED A POSTPONEMENT, WHAT-EVER EXTRACTS FROM OBTUSE DOCUMENTS MAY APPEAR IN NEWS-PAPERS. BUT I'LL TRACK DOWN THAT DOCUMENT IF IT EXISTS.

Q. (IN FRNECH) IF SPAIN JOINS NATO HAVE YOU STUDIED WHAT MIGHT BE THE NEXT RESPONSE OF THE SOVIET UNION TO THIS DISEQUILIBRIUM?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THEY MIGHT ASK ALBANIA TO JOIN THE WARSAW PACT (LAUGHTER). THE UNITED STATES HAS FAVORED THE PARTICIPATION OF SPAIN IN NATO AND THE POLITICAL PROGRESS THAT IS BEING MADE IN SPAIN, WHICH WE WELCOME, IN OUR VIEW SHOULD SPEED THE DAY WHEN THAT SITUATION IS POSSIBLE. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS WILLBRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE MILITARY BALANCE BECAUSE WE HAVE ALREAD A BILATERAL ARRANGEMENT WITH SPAIN AND CLEARLY IT IS NOT A PART OF ANY OFFENSIVE INTENTION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION,
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SO WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS A MATTER THAT SHOULD NOT AFFECT SOVIET DISPOSITIONS.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 NATO 06806 04 OF 05 102114Z
71
ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-09 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 PM-04
NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 NEA-10 AF-08 PA-02 INRE-00 IO-13
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 EB-07 /096 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 788
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 6637
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 4 OF 5 USNATO 6806

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SCOWCRAFT AND WHITE HOUSE FOR NESSEN; USIA FOR IPS/PE;
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Q. MR. SECRETARY, ONE OF THE DIFFERENCES THAT IS
FREQUENTLY CITED BETWEEN THE KIND OF FOREING POLICY THAT
YOU HAVE CONDUCTED AND THE TYPE OF FOREIGN POLICYTHAT
PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER MAY CONDUCT HAS TO DO WITH
MORALITY. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER
MAY BE MAKING AMISTAKE BY GIVING TOO MUCH EMPHASIS TO
THE SUBJECT OF MORALITY, OR DO YOU FEEL IN FACT THAT YOU
HAVE CONDUCTED A FOREIGN POLICY WITH FULL REGARD TO THAT?
SECRETARY KISSINGER: I MADE A RATHER EXTENSIVE SPEECH
ON THAT SUBJECT BEFORE OUR ELECTION. I BELIEVE THAT
THE REALTIONSHIP BETWEEN MORALITY AND FOREIGN POLICY IS
NOT A SIMPLE ONE. I AGREE WITH WHAT MY SUCCESSOR SAID
AT A PRESS CONFERENCE -- THAT IS IS NECESSARYTO HAVE
STRONG MORAL CONVICTIONS, BUT IS IS ALSO NECESSARY TO
BRING INTO RELATIONSHIP THE REALITIES OF THE SITUATION
WITH MORAL PURPOSES. IT IS THE ESSENCE OF MORAL PURPOSES
THAT THEY APPEAR ABSOLUTE. IT IS THE ESSENCE OF FOREIGN
POLICY THAT ANY INDIVIDUAL STEP CAN ONLY BE PARTIAL. IT
IS THE ESSENCE OF MORALITY THAT IT IS ASSERTED TO BE
UNIVERSAL. IT IS THE ESSENCE OF FOREIGN POLICY TO TAKE
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 NATO 06806 04 OF 05 102114Z

INTO ACCOUNT THE VIEWS OF OTHERS THAT MAY ALSO BE CLAIMED

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

TO BE UNIVERSAL. NOW, I DON'T BELIEVE THAT WHAT I NOW
ASSERT ABOUT MY CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY WILL BE DECISIVE.
I BELIEVE THAT A FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT MORAL CONVICTIONS
LACKS A SENSE OF DIRECTION AND A SENSE OF PURPOSE, BUT
WHAT BALANCE IS STRUCK IN EACH ADMINISTRATION IS VERY
HARD TO PREDICT AND VERY DIFFICULT TO FORETELL FROM
ABSTRACT STATEMENTS.

Q. ECONOMIC QUESTIONS HAVE APPEARED MORE PROMINANTLY
IN YOUR DELIBERATIONS THIS WEEK THAN THEY HAVE AT SOME
PREVIOUSALLIANCE MEETINGS. COULD YOU GIVE US YOUR
THOUGHTS ON THE EXTENT TO WHICH THERE IS A DANGER THAT
THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC SITUATION MIGHT DETERIORATE TO THE
POINT WHERE ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN
THE ALLIANCE WAS BROUGHT INTO SOME QUESTION--TO WHAT
EXTENT THAT PROSPECT IS BROUGHT NEARER BY AN SUBSTANTIAL
INCREASE IN OIL PRICES?

SECRETARYKISSINGER: THE UNITED STATES IS STRONGLY
OPPOSEDTO ANY SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN OIL PRICES,
PRECISELY BECUASE IT BELIEVES THAT THE IMPACT OF THOSE
ON THE GLOBAL ECONOMY WOULD BE EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE AND
WOULD HAVE CONSEQUENCES WHICH IN THE LONG RUN, OR EVEN
IN THE MEDIUM RUN, WOULD AFFECT THE VERY COUNTRIES THAT
ARE NOW RAISING OR THINKING OF RASING THE OIL PRICES.
I BELIEVE THAT THE LAST THREE OR FOUR YEARS HAVE MADE
CLEAR THAT ONE CAN NO LONGER COMPARTMENTALIZE FOREIGN
POLICY INTO SECURITY, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONCERNS.
THE SOCIAL COHESION OF ALL OUR SOCIETIES, OUR CAPACITY
TO ACT WITH CONVICTION INTERNATIONALLY, DEPENDS ON ROW-
ING AND VITAL ECONOMIES AND THESE ECONOMIES IN TURN DEPEND
ON THE MUTAL SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR EACH OTHER
OF THE FREE COUNTRIES. THIS IS WHY THESE ECONOMIC SUMMITS
HAVE BEEN BOTH SYMBOLICALLY AND SUBSTANTIVELY IMPORTANT
AND WHY I BELIEVE AND HOPE THAT THEY WILL REMAIN A
FEATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE AND WHY ONE CAN NO
LONGER SEPARTE THE SECURITY CONCERNS.

Q. AN EASY QUESTION FOR YOU, SIR. WHAT KIND OF ADVICE,
AS WE SIT HERE AT NATO TODAY AND YOU PREPARE TO STEP DOWN,
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PAGE 03 NATO 06806 04 OF 05 102114Z

DO YOU HAVE FOR CYRUS VANCE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER (LAUGHTER). WE WILL TAKE ONE MORE
QUESTION AFTER THIS ONE BUT SINCE YOU WILL ALL STAMPEDE
OUT TO REPORT THE MONUMENTAL NEWS THAT YOU HAVE BEEN
IMPARTED HERE, I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK
YOU FOR THE RELATIVE COURTESY WITH WHICH I HAVE ALWAYS

BEEN TREATED HERE AND THE FAIRNESS WHICH YOU HAVE SHOWN.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

AS FAR AS ADVICE FOR CYRUS VANCE IS CONCERNED, I WISH HIM
WELL. I HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED THAT HE IS EXTREMELY WELL
QUALIFIED FOR HIS POSITION. I HAVE ALREADY MADE AVAILABLE
TO HIM ALL COMMUNICATIONS THAT COME TO ME. HE WILL BE
GIVEN A SCHEDULE OF ALL MY ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON, AND
HE IS FREE TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY OF THEM AND AT ANY MEET-
INGS THAT I HAVE. I WILL BE SPENDING MOST OF THE DAY WITH
HIM NEXT WEDNESDAY, AND WE WILL BE MEETING REGULARLY AND
FREQUENTLY AFTER THAT. I DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE
APPROPRIATE FOR ME, HOWEVER, TO GIVE PUBLIC ADVICE TO MY
SUCCESSOR BEFORE I HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY FOR FULL DISCUSSIONS
WITH HIM. BUT I DO WANT TO SAY THAT HE DESERVES THE
CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE; THAT HE DESERVES
THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL FOREIGN COUNTRIES WHO ARE CON-
CERNED WITH THE DIRECTION OF AMERICAN POLICY.

Q. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SAY SOMETHING SIR ABOUT THE FUTURE
OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF THE LARGE COMMERCIAL
DEBTS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE ACQUIRING TOWARDS THE WEST,
AND THE CONTUED EXTENSION OF EASY CREDIT AND TRANSFER
OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY TO THE SOVIETS?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL, LET ME SEPARATE THE TWO
QUESTIONS. ONE, THE EXTENSION OF CREDIT AND TRANSFER OF
TECHNOLOGY; THE SECOND, THE FUTURE OF THE EAST-WEST
TECHNOLOGY; THE SECOND, THE FUTURE OF THE EAST-WEST
RELTIONS. WITH RESPECT TO THE EXTENSION OF CREDIT, I
ADVOCATED LAST YEAR AT THE OECD MEETING-- AND I REPEATED
IT AT THE NATO MEETING-- THAT IT IS ESENTIAL FOR THE
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES TODEVELOP A COMMON APPROACH AN
A COMMON CONCEPT. IT MAKES NO SENSE FOR THESE COUNTRIES
TO COMPETE WITH EACH OTHER ON CREDIT TERMS WITHOUT TAKING
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PAGE 04 NATO 06806 04 OF 05 102114Z

A LOOK AT THE OVERALL PICTURE AND THE OVERALL CONSEQUENCES
OF THEIR ACTIONS. SO I BELIEVE ON THE TECHNICAL AND
ECONOMIC ISSUE THAT THIS IS AN AREA IN WHICH GREAT COHERENCE
AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL DEMORACIES IS ESSENTIAL. AS FOR
THE FUTURE OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IN THE NUCLEAR AGE
THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION THAT WE HAVE A DUAL RESPONSIBILITY.
ONE IS TO PREVENT ANY TEMPTATION ON THE PART OF THOSE

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PAGE 01 NATO 06806 05 OF 05 102134Z
71
ACTION PRS-01

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY 6638
AMEMBASSY MADRID PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 5 OF 5 USNATO 6806

COUNTRIES THAT CONTINUE TO MILTIPLY THEIR ARMAMENTS TO BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN ACHIEVE POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS BY THE USE OF ARMS AND WE THEREFORE HAVE TO SEE TO OUR SECURITY AND MAKE THE NECESSARY EFFORTS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE FUTURE OF WORLD PEACE AND, INDEED, PERHAPS THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANITY DEPENDS ON WHETHER WE CAN I THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST FIND SOLUTIONS TO OUR COMMON PROBLEMS AND A CODE OF RESTRAINT, LEST WE SLIDE

AGAIN -- AS HAS HAPPENED SO OFTEN BEFORE IN HISTORY THROUGH A SERIES OF MISCALCULATIONS AND THE ACCUMULATION OF MARGINAL ADVANTAGES -- INTO A PERHAPS UNIMAGINABLE CATASTROPHE. SO WE HAVE THE TASK OF SECURITY AND THE TASK OF CONSTRUCTION OF PEACE. AND THE CHALLENGE TO THE WESTERN SOCIETIES IS WHETHER THEY CAN PURSUE BOTH POLICIES SIMILTANEOUSLY, OR WHETHER THEY WILL SLIDE ONE AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.
END TEXTSTRAUSZ-HUPE

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